COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE NEGRO—Page 365

The CRISIS

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COVER — MARY ELIZABETH VROMAN, 26, who teaches a third grade in Birmingham, Ala., published her first story, "See How They Run,'" in the June issue of the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Her story is a moving picture of the problems involved in Negro education.

Notice to Crisis Subscribers and Readers

THE AUGUST-SEPTEMBER ISSUE OF THE CRISIS IS A COMBINED ISSUE AND WILL BE OUT SEPTEMBER 1

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THE CRISIS, AUGUST-SEPTEMBER, 1951

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IN THIS ISSUE

June-July, 1951

COVER

Mary Elizabeth Vroman. Photo by Scott, DeMotte & Perry

COMMUNIST PARTY—ENEMY OF NEGRO EQUALITY—*By Herbert Hill* 365

MINORITY STOCKHOLDERS VS. JIM CROW—*By James Peck* 375

AMERICAN NEGROES IN FRANCE—*By Richard Wright* 381

AFRO-CUBAN FOLK MUSIC—*By Irene Diggs* 390

EDITORIALS 394

DEPARTMENTS

GOOD NEWS 385

ALONG THE NAACP BATTLEFRONT 396

BRANCH NEWS 402

COLLEGE AND SCHOOL NEWS 408

BOOK REVIEWS 417

LEGAL DIRECTORY 425

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■ **An examination of the record exposes the American Communist Party as the enemy of Negro aspirations**

The Communist Party—Enemy of Negro Equality

By Herbert Hill

THE major concentration of activity today of the American Communist Party is directed towards the Negro. In hundreds of pamphlets, newspapers, leaflets, and magazines; in meetings and fiery speeches; in fact, through every means of communication available to them, the Communists are trying to persuade, cajole, and wheedle Negroes of all classes and groups into joining the Communist party or one of its many "front" organizations.

Everyone seriously concerned with the fight for Negro rights should go behind this facade of daily hysteria and agitation by the Communists on the "Negro question" to find the realities. This we can easily discover through examination of official Communist documents and party resolutions. Actually, the Communist position on the Negro has undergone a change with every shift in Russian policy, and the only valid explanations for these about-faces and reversals of policy on the "Negro question" is that the American Communist Party is an instrument of Soviet foreign policy.

It is therefore inevitable that American Communist Party interest in the Negro can be neither genuine nor sincere. Quite the contrary. Strategic needs of the party as dictated by Moscow take precedence, not the goals and aspirations of Negroes. Whenever the interests of Negroes come into conflict with the political interests of Russia, the Communists abandon Negroes like rats a sinking ship.

Prior to 1928 the Communists seldom made mention of the fight for Negro rights in either their programs or their literature. Not until the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow in 1928 did the Communists evidence enough interest in the Negro to devise their fantastic slogan of

---

HERBERT HILL *is an assistant field secretary of the NAACP.*

"Self-determination in the Black Belt." Ironically, this was a scheme devised by a man, Dr. Otto Kuusinnen, who had hardly seen a dozen Negroes in his life. In 1929 the party began to orientate itself on this question and in 1930 the CP published the official "Resolutions of the Communist International on the Negro Question in the United States." This resolution reads, in part:

> The main Communist slogan must be: The right of self-determination of the Negroes in the Black Belt. . . . If the slogan of self-determination of the Negroes is to be put into force it is necessary wherever possible to bring together into one governmental unit all districts of the South where the majority of the settled population consists of Negroes. . . . Complete right of self-determination includes also the right to governmental separation. . . . The right of the Negroes to governmental separation will be unconditionally realized by the Communit Party. . . . The Communist Party must stand up with all strength and courage for the struggle to win independence and for the establishment of a Negro Republic in the Black Belt.[1]

On March 16, 1930, the Political Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Communist International stated, in a letter, to the American Communist Party:

> Communists must unreservedly carry on a struggle for the self-determination of the Negro population in the Black Belt in accordance with the decisions of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International.[2]

Thereupon the entire party apparatus began to grind out tons of propaganda on "Negro self-determination."

In a speech delivered at the National Nominating Convention of the Communist Party proposing James W. Ford for vice-president of the United States, Communist leader Clarence A. Hathway explained:

> **NEGRO GOVERNMENT**
>
> We demand that the Negroes be given the complete right of self-determination, the right to set up their own goveriment in this territory, and the right to separate, if they wish, from the United States.[3]

Communist justification for this policy of a separate Negro republic was that American Negroes constituted a "separate nation," a "nation within a nation." That is why they applied the theory of self-determination which the Russian Bolshevik leader Nikolai Lenin had developed in regard to the historically constituted nations of central Europe subjugated by the Czarist Empire. However, examination of Lenin's writing on this subject (*Collected Works*, Vol. 19) will soon reveal to the serious student the patent absurdity of the concept as applied to American Negroes.

Since the theory of self-determination is usually applied to groups with well-defined national characteristics, one must have a clear concept of what is a nation. Here is Stalin's as found in his article "Marxism and the National Question," written in 1913: "A nation is a historically developed community of people with a common language, territory, economic life and a historical tradition reflecting itself in a common culture."[4]

It is obvious, then, that this limited definition of nation, even as pro-

pounded by the high priest of Communism, is inapplicable to the American Negro. Negroes have no separate language, no separate economy, no separate territory; nor are Negroes separated from the white majority by differences of religion and custom. What is true of the minority groups of Russia and Europe has never been true of the American Negro. On the contrary Negroes are and have been for many centuries thoroughly American in every sense of this word, and the history of the Negro in America is warp and woof of the history of the United States.

Though millions of American Negroes are subjected to every conceivable variety of economic, political, and social discrimination, these injustices of themselves have not and cannot make them a separate nation. It is the Negro's color which identifies him and sets him apart for special treatment and economic exploitation. It is his status as a "racial minority," not his status as a "separate nation."

GOAL: INTEGRATION

The fundamental social compulsion of the Negro in America is toward integration and assimilation into all aspects of American life on the basis of complete equality. The history of the Negro in the United States proves this. And in recent years he has so intensified this struggle for complete equality that any tendency toward separatism, nationalism, or group introversion can result only in mass despair. To preach separation for the Negro is really to become an advocate of a more vicious form of segregation. Yet the self-determination doctrine is still the basic policy of the American Communist Party. During the interval 1938-1945, however, beginning with Russian fear of Nazi Germany, this policy was not actively propagandized; but in 1945 it was again hauled out, dusted off, and pushed to the forefront of the Party's program.

The NAACP has always opposed and exposed this super-jim-crowism. In October 1935, *The Crisis* stated editorially:

> *The Crisis* continues to look with jaundiced eye upon that 'self-determination for the black belt' proposal of the American Communists. . . . We maintain that the mere existence of the proposal proves that the idea of separation is uppermost in the minds of the red brain trust and not the idea of oneness, and in advancing this theory of separation the Communists are hand-in-hand with the southern ruling class.

While the Party was yelling for black-republic jim crow on the home front, "The Draft Resolution of the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party U. S. A." was calling upon the "Communist parties of the world to lead the working masses up to the victorious struggle for the Soviet Power."[5]

ETHIOPIAN WAR

It was during this period that Italy invaded Ethiopia and the American Negro party members had the disillusioning experience of watching the Soviet Union giving economic aid to Italy in its attack upon a practically defenseless colored nation. Claude McKay writes: "But when it was uncovered that Russa, while spouting idealistic froth about the rights of small, weak nations and colonial

peoples, was actually delivering oil, manganese and other war material to Itlay to wage war against Ethiopia, there was a bitter reaction among Negroes." (*Harlem: Negro Metropolis*, p. 226). Many Negro party members who could not take this hypocrisy quit.

However, when the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International met in July 1935 the Communists withdrew their slogan of self-determination and "soft-pedaled" their "fight" for Negro equality. The Roosevelt administration had now extended diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union and President Roosevelt was suddenly transformed from a "social fascist" into a great humanitarian. Now the Communist cry was for a "United Front."

In reporting on the Seventh World Congress, Earl Browder, at that time general secretary of the Communist Party, speaking on October 3, 1935, in Madison Square Garden, New York City, said: "The [Seventh] Congress declared that Communists everywhere must try by all means . . . to find the road . . . to greater flexibility in each country and locality."

The Party had now conveniently forgotten the problems of the darker brother and sister. On May 28, 1938, Browder declared, speaking at Carnegie Hall, New York City: "Communism is twentieth century Americanism." And he added that the Party was "Continuing the great American tradition, we are carrying on the work of Jefferson, Paine, Jackson and Lincoln."[6]

In this quest for the "Democratic Front" the "Negro question" disappeared as if by magic. The Party withdrew its separate-republic-in-the-black-belt slogan from public view. They now clamored for "collective security" and an American-Russian treaty; therefore, to fight for Negro rights, they reasoned, was to interfere with more important matters.

This policy of the democratic front lasted until 1939, when the Hitler-Stalin Pact was signed and the Communists in Germany discontinued their anti-fascits activities. The same war which just yesterday had been described as the "Democratic front against fascism" now became the "imperialist war." President Roosevelt was now denounced as "a war monger" and Hitler pictured as a peace-loving vegetarian. Things were so hunky-dory between the Nazis and the Russian Communists that Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Scriabin, known to us as Molotov, felt free to indulge in a little Politburo drollery. "Fascism," he said, "is a matter of taste." The rallying cry of the American Communist Party was that "The Yanks are not coming." So the party now adopted a "left" line in the trade union movement in conformity with the new foreign policy of the Kremlin. Interest in the Negro was quickly revived and there was a demand for militant action for Negro rights. This radical "left" phase lasted until the Nazi invasion of Russia on June 22, 1941.

SECOND FRONT

An analysis of editorials and articles appearing the Communist Party's official publication *The Daily Worker* will prove illuminating. The lead editorial, for example, of the June 22, 1941, issue complained: "Roosevelt literally drags this coun-

try towards the debacle of full war involvement." In this same issue editor Louis F. Budenz signed a screaming article which declared, "It is Wall Street's war . . . an imperialist war against the people. No aid to the war makers . . . stop the war!"

But this was obviously written before the new Kremlin line on the Russo-German war got piped into 35 East 12th Street. Three days later, however, the Party must have gotten its orders from Moscow, for on June 25, 1941, a *Daily Worker* headline beamed: "F.D.R. Promises Aid to Soviet Union." Then the Party about-faced and declared: "The Red Army's war is our war." The Party immediately dumped its "leftist" baggage and emerged as a super-patriotic, jingoistic, strike-breaking outfit; but it left room, however, for the advocacy of social reforms and the criticism of monopoly capital.

Communists began to yammer for a "second front" because the war was now a war for democracy and human liberation. They became ardent advocates of the "No Strike Pledge" and open strike-breakers, and in the unions under their control they instituted vicious incentive piece-work and speed-up systems. They supported every piece of restrictive legislation designed to curb civil liberties and the independence of the trade union movement. The Communists were the only group in the entire labor movement to support a National Service Act to conscript labor. The Party even congratulated the federal government for using the Smith Act against the leaders of the Minneapolis Truck Union, the very same Smith Act that sent their own leaders to jail a few years later.

As open strike-breakers, the Communists called upon the federal government to "Use armed force . . . to break this [the strike of the Machinists in San Francisco in November 1944] or any other strike." In the Montgomery Ward strike *The Daily Worker* (June 19, 1944) slandered the union men in a strikebreaking editorial, which declared: "Those who violate the No Strike Pledge are scabs and should be so treated." There had never before been a group that had engaged in such open reactionary practices in the entire history of the American labor movement.

CIVIL RIGHTS

However, the most perfidious aspect of their new policy was on the crucial issue of civil rights. The whole shabby story is told in headlines, articles, and editorials of the Party mouthpiece. In the July 15, 1941, *The Daily Worker* the Party stated editorially:

> The Negro people can be found among the first to recognize the changed character of the European conflict since the invasion of the Soviet Union.

On November 2, 1941, the *Worker* editorialized:

> Today the appeasers raise the just grievances of the Negro people . . . to use them against national unity, against the President's foreign policy.

Get this; To raise the question of jim crow and segregation in the armed forces and to fight for decent jobs in defense plants for Negro workers made you a "fascist appeaser."

In reporting (*The Daily Worker*, September 16, 1941) a Negro Communist conference held in New York City, Ben Davis wrote:

> Communists were disturbed by the increasing struggle of Negroes for jobs in defense plants. . . . Many of the Negro groups and newspapers are not clear on the international situation. . .

Then he "urged the Negro people to be ready to sacrifice." Sacrifice for what? The battle to end jim crow in the armed forces? To win FEPC? No, not at all! The Communists were calling on American Negroes to sacrifice for "Full and immediate aid to the USSR, rushing all aid to the Soviet Union. . . ." (*Worker*, June 25, 1941).

NEGROPHOBES SECONDARY

The Communists claimed that "The foes of Negro rights in this country should be considered as secondary." Understand that this meant support of every sort of racial reactionary, including Rankin and Bilbo. They viciously attacked the March-on-Washington Movement, which had the sport of millions of Negroes, that had forced President Roosevelt into issuing his Executive Order No. 8802—the FEPC. They attacked A. Philip Randolph, the leader and organizer of the movement, as an "enemy of the war effort," and accused him of impeding "national unity." In February 1942 the Party published a pamphlet entitled "The War and the Negro People," by James W. Ford, in which Ford tried to justify the Communist policy on the Negro through resort to casuistry: "Four hundred years of Negro slavery are nothing besides Nazi persecution of the Jewish people, people of the occupied countries."

In March 1942 Eugene Gordon, a member of *The Daily Worker* editorial staff, attacked the double-V campaign of *The Pittsburgh Courier* in a public symposium. Readers may recall that the double-V campaign was one for "Double Victory for democracy at home and abroad." As a good Communist truckling to the party *line*, Gordon had a specious reason ready at hand: "Hitler is the main enemy . . . foes of Negro rights in this country should be considered secondary."

The Communists went to even greater lengths to appease southern enemies of Negro rights. In order to avoid embarrasing their jim-crow allies in the southern wing of the Democratic Party, the Twelfth-Street boys dissolved the Communist Party in the South; while in the North the Party changed its name to American Communist Political Association and the Young Communist League now became American Youth for Democracy.

Willard S. Townsend, international president of the United Transport Employees Union (CIO), gave an accurate analysis of the policies and practices of the Communist Party during this period. In the March 1943 issue of the Red Cap union's newspaper he wrote:

RED CARPET-BAGGERS

> To us, the present 'party line' of the Communist carpet-baggers on the Negro question in America is indistinguishable from that of many of our southern poll-taxers or Uncle Toms. They wrap their reactionary positions in a Red flag and yell 'unity.' In the open they spout

fire-eating but harmless phrases about 'freedom and equality of opportunity' for Negroes, but behind closed doors they are sabotaging every decent effort and impulse on the part of independent liberals and trade unionists to push for an immediate and adequate solution of these problems.

We must not forget that this Party line of cooperation with the Negro's enemies was practiced during a period when jim-crow policies and practices were especially vicious in the armed services. This was the period of the Isaac McNatt and Winifred Lynn cases, and many other incidents of Negro revolt against discrimination. This was a period when the NAACP legal department was working overtime defending Negro servicemen who had become victims of jim crow; when Walter White, secretary of the Association, was appearing again and again in Washington to offer vigorous protest against the racist policies of the armed services.

But not the Communist Party! They went no where near Washington. They were too busy screaming for a second front and yelping for greater assistance to Russia. They could not be bothered with a mere trifle like jim crow in the armed forces.

Here is an incident which shows the cynical view the Party always took of Negro protest at the time.

Some wounded Negro soldiers were left unattended and without medical care at Fort Devens in 1945. When four Negro WAC's stationed at the fort learned of these outrages, they protested. For this they were court-martialed. But widespreead protest from churches, labor unions, and civil-rights organizations forced Army officials to reverse themselves. Now what did the Communists do?

WACs REPRIMANDED

Communist leader Ben Davis (*The Daily Worker*, April 8, 1945), instead of supporting, reprimanded the WAC's. Read this very carefully:

> The U. S. general staff has on many occasions . . . proved that they deserve the full confidence of the Negro people. . . . We cannot temporarily stop the war until all questions of discrimination are ironed out.

Both Ben Davis and the Communist Party were rabid apologists for the white-supremacist officer caste in the Army. And they always defended and supported Army jim crow on the grounds that to protest against it would hamper the war effort and disrupt aid to Russia. The black-belt saviors of the "Negro people" were now trying to save Russia from the maw of the *Wehrmacht*.

When A. Philip Randolph stated in his speech before the 1944 Convention of the Workers Defense League that he did not know "a single Negro anywhere who believes that this war is being fought for freedom and democracy," the Communists slandered him. The December 18, 1944 *Worker* attacked him for "spreading defeatism among the Negro people . . . guaranteeing the triumph of fascism, sabotaging the great hope." And Doxey Wilkerson, another CP leader, accused Randolph (*Worker*, December 25, 1944) of being a "fascist helping defeatism."

(*Continued on page* 421)

Frank Gennello

DEFENDING THE TRENTON SIX—*Walter White (second from left, front row), executive secretary of the NAACP, is shown during recess at Trenton Six trial with the attorneys handling the defense of the six men accused of the* 1948 *murder of a secondhand furniture dealer. Front row (L. to R.): George Pellettieri, Mr. White, Arthur Garfield Hayes, and Raymond Pace Alexander, who headed the battery of NAACP lawyers defending Horace Wilson and John McKenzie. Back row (L. to R.): NAACP attorney Glifford Moore, Frank Katzenbach, and NAACP attorney J. Mercer Burrell, Mr. Pellettieri and Mr. Hayes defended Collis English, Ralph Cooper, and James Thorpe; Mr. Katzenbach defended McKinley Forrest.*

Frank Gennello

RECESS AT TRENTON SIX TRIAL—*Ike Williams (second from left, standing), world lightweight boxing champion, poses with defendants in the Trenton Six Trial and NAACP lawyers during a court recess. Mr. Williams visited the Six to offer his encouragement and support of their case. Left to right (standing) are Raymond Pace Alexander of Philadelphia, who headed the battery of lawyers retained by the NAACP to defend two of the accused; Ike Williams, John McKenzie, Ralph Cooper; NAACP attorney J. Mercer Burrell of Newark; James Thorpe; NAACP attorney Clifford Moore of Trenton; sheriff Thomas Brennan. Seated (L. to R.) are Horace Wilson, Collis English, and McKinley Forrest. The NAACP defended McKenzie and Wilson; the remaining four are being defended by other counsel.*

AT NINE A.M. *on June 14 a Mercer county jury of six men and six women acquitted four of the Trenton Six defendants and adjudged two others guilty of the 1948 murder of the secondhand furniture dealer William Horner. Horace Wilson and John McKenzie, the two men whose defense was handled by NAACP attorneys, were among the four acquitted. The other two were McKinley Forrest and James Thorpe. The jury recommended mercy, which means a mandatory sentence of life imprisonment for the two convicted men, Ralph Cooper and Collis English. The Princeton Committee for the Trenton Six has already started raising a fund to appeal the life imprisonment sentences of Cooper and English.*

Acme

GOOD NEWS—*Edward O. Diggs of Winston-Salem, N. C., who has been accepted into the University of North Carolina Medical School, reads the good news to his family. Left to right are Beverley, 7; Edward Diggs; Edward Diggs, Jr., 2; his wife, Razel; and daughter, Sharon, 5-months old. Diggs is the first Negro to be admitted to the state university.*

DID YOU KNOW—

That Negro brigades were organized in the French army as early as 1789?

Alfred Rambaud, *History of French Civilization,* mentions a certain Jean Hitron, said to have been the son of an African king, who even became a "sous-brigadier."

■ A new anti-jim-crow grenade—stock ownership

Minority Stockholders vs. Jim Crow

By James Peck

BEFORE leaving on the 1947 interracial bus trip through the upper South sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality, Bayard Rustin and I each bought a share of Greyhound stock at approximately $30. Purpose of the trip was to challenge the segregated seating system on interstate buses in light of the 1946 Irene Morgan decision of the U. S. Supreme Court. Purpose of our buying the stock was to carry the challenge to the Greyhound stockholders.

So in May 1948, I headed for the stockholders' meeting in Wilmington, Delaware. Unable to attend, Rustin was represented by Louis Redding, Wilmington NAACP attorney.

Like feudal towns, which were built up around the lord's manor-house, Wilmington is built up around a group of large buildings at the top of the hill housing the offices of hundreds of America's biggest corporations. These enterprises are incorporated in Delaware because taxes there are low. Corporation officials make annual treks to Wilmington for the sole purpose of holding stockholders' meetings; otherwise they would probably never visit the place. In one of these buildings atop the hill is the Greyhound office.

Attending the 1948 stockholders' meeting were five persons, including Redding and myself. The regular business, including election without opposition of the corporation-sponsored slate of officers, lasted less than fifteen minutes. Then Redding got up and asked whether we could discuss the jim-crow seating question. Merrill Buffington, secretary of the corporation, stated that we should have gotten the matter on the printed agenda of the meeting in accordance with provisions of the Securities and Exchange Act. However, he permitted us both to talk.

After we finished, one of the others attending, who happened to be a Southerner, gave a speech to the effect that we should "let things be as they always have been." Another, who was a supervisory em-

JAMES PECK, *a frequent Crisis contributor and a member of CORE, is a militant foe of jim crow in all its forms.*

ployе of Greyhound, got indignant and called us Reds and troublemakers. Taking an attitude of reconciliation, Buffington gave a talk to the effect that change has to come slowly. That was all, except that we subsequently got some publicity in the press, which was beneficial. After the meeting, Redding and I had literally to go underground to have lunch together. Delaware law bars interracial restaurants, but Redding knew of one which would serve us in the basement.

TOO LATE FOR AGENDA

In 1949 neither Rustin nor I could attend the meeting. But in 1950 we decided to follow Buffington's suggestion to try to get the question on the printed agenda. Eight months before the date of the meeting, I sent notification to Greyhound. There was considerable stalling and delay. I appealed to the Securities and Exchange Commission. At first the Commission disapproved of the wording of my proposal. By March the SEC had approved as a proper subject for action by the stockholders, the proposal: "A Recommendation that Management consider the advisability of abolishing the segregated seating system in the South." But Greyhound thereupon held it was too late to get the proposal on the agenda for the meeting, which is held in May.

That year Rustin and I decided we would picket the meeting and distribute leaflets to those attending. We knew it would be risky for us to picket together in a town as jim-crow as Wilmington. But we were not molested and we heard no racist remarks during the hour of picketing. Typical of the times were the reactions of two prosperous looking gentlemen who entered the building. Upon seeing us, one of them asked very casually "Communists?" In an equally casual tone of voice the other replied: "Must be." Neither of them read our placards nor bothered to take a leaflet. Our picketing got even more publicity than our action at the 1948 stockholders' meeting.

We decided that the following year we would again try to get the question on the agenda, particularly since our proposal already had the approval of SEC. So, eight months previous to this year's meeting, I notified the corporation, pointing out that it was particularly urgent in view of the Supreme Court decision in the Henderson case. The corporation waited five months only to notify SEC that the proposal would not be put on the agenda, since Greyhound did not consider it a proper subject for action.

Thereupon SEC, under corporation pressure, reversed itself. In a letter to Buffington, Harry Heller, assistant director of SEC's Division of Corporation Finance, avowed:

Normally, stockholders in our opinion should not be denied the right of making suggestions and recommendations for consideration by the management of a company and of having fellow stockholders vote on such matters. On this basis, we previously advised Mr. Peck that a proposal regarding segregated seating on buses would be a proper subject for action.

PROPOSALS IMPROPER

However, we realize that some proposals may be improper, particularly if they are in fact urged for propaganda purposes or to require the management

in effect to take consensus of stockholders in respect to what is essentially a general political, social or economic problem. In view of the facts which you have submitted, the Commission has asked me to advise you that it agrees with your position that the proposal . . . need not be included.

Upon the advice of Nathan B. Kogan, attorney specializing in matters concerning stockholders' meetings, I then went to court. Kogan condemned SEC's reversal and declared my proposal a proper subject for action.

So Conrad J. Lynn, my attorney, filed a suit in the United States District Court in New York seeking an injunction which would restrain the corporation from holding its stockholders' meeting this year unless my proposal was included.

When the case was argued, Judge Sylvester Ryan declared: 'I don't dispute that segregation on buses is wrong, and I am strongly opposed to it." However, he questioned our bringing a civil-rights matter under the Securities and Exchange Act.

Lynn then pointed out that it is a business as well as a civil-rights matter, since as a result of its jim-crow seating system in the South Greyhound needlessly spends thousands of dollars to pay damage suits brought by Negroes illegally segregated on interstate buses.

Judge Ryan dismissed our case, but purely on procedural grounds, holding that we should have obtained a formal opinion from SEC before coming into court.

It was too late to try such a procedure this year, but we intend to do so in 1952. Even if we succeed in this step, it will not mean that our

BAYARD RUSTIN (*left*) *and* JAMES PECK *picket* 1950 *Greyhound stockholders' meeting in Wilmington, Del.*

proposal will be accepted. At the 1948 stockholders' meeting, the man designated by the corporation as official proxy holder held proxies for over six million of the corporation's nine million shares of common stock. Many stockholders sign a printed form giving their proxy to the official proxy holder. So even if it had come to a vote the tally would have been six million and some to two.

GOT PUBLICITY

At this point a skeptic might well ask: 'What's the use of all this effort?" The answer is—"Publicity!" At every stage of our campaign, we have received publicity in both the white and Negro press. We have

even gotten brief stories in the *Wall Street Journal.* Our campaign has succeeded in getting the all-important racial issue repeatedly before the public, and that is worthwhile.

It has also caused the company considerable apprehension. This was indicated in Buffington's letter this February 13 to SEC, in which he writes:

> If the proposal should be adopted, it is apparent it could and would be used by Mr. Peck and his organization as propaganda to bring pressure to bear to force the management to act on the recommendation of the stockholders and institute a social reform, namely the abolition of segregation seating.
>
> If the proposal should be voted down, Mr. Peck could use that fact as propaganda to discredit Greyhound among prospective Negro passengers on the theory that Greyhound stockholders refused to vote for the abolition of segregation and should therefore be considered hostile towards them. We greatly value the patronage of our colored passengers.
>
> We feel that to permit Mr. Peck to submit this proposal to our stockholders would be likely to cause irreparable damage to our business, because whatever action is taken would place Mr. Peck and the Congress of Racial Equality in a position to charge that Greyhound is opposed to the abolition of segregation.

As a result of the publicity given our suit before Judge Ryan, Adam Clayton Powell's group and The American Jewish Congress, among others, have expressed interest and offered to help the campaign.

ENCOURAGING STOCKHOLDER

But most encouraging was a card from a Mr. Lewis A. Dexter of Washington, D. C., another stockholder, offering to join in our effort. At my suggestion, he wrote Buffington and sent me a copy of his letter. He explained:

> As the owner of 100 shares of the corporation, and incidentally as one who has lived in northern Florida, Alabama, and Virginia, I would like to question the advisability of depriving the owners of this aspect of ownership [consideration of whether or not segregated seating should be abolished.]
>
> My own observation confirms that if the bus drivers are trained and expected to see to it that people are treated equally, there would be no difficulty in most areas, probably in none.

I also urged Mr. Dexter to join with Rustin and myself in our general campaign, to which he replied that he would try to attend the stockholders' meeting. In conclusion, I appeal to others who happen to be Greyhound stockholders to join with us as Mr. Dexter has done. If such persons should want to get in touch with me they can by writing me at 552 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York. If they should want to write a protest, send it to Merrill Buffington, Secretary, Greyhound Corporation, 2600 Board of Trade Building, Chicago 4, Illinois.

DID YOU KNOW —

That the entire four volumes of Gobineau's *Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races* (1853-1855) have never been translated into English? Only volume I was translated in 1915.

Wilson

INTEGRATION—*The 50-voice Girls Glee Club, composed of Negro, Mexican-American, Japanese-American, Filipino, Caucasian, and Chinese-American girls, under the direction of Mrs. Wanda Clark, singing at the closing session of the Southern California Area Conference of the NAACP organizing meeting held in San Diego May* 18-20. BOTTOM: *Highlight of the membership drive of the New Rochelle, N. Y., branch is the presentation by the branch of a* $500 *life membership to John N. Tate in tribute of his "outstanding and untiring service to the NAACP. Left to right: Mrs. Frederick Pierce, Walter White, and John Tate.*

Sykes & Ransom

$500 SMILES—*Billy Eckstine (second from right) has just presented a $500 check to aid the NAACP fight for civil rights. Left to right: Conchita Nakatani, of the Philadelphia branch; Dr. J. Sheperd Smith, also of the Philadelphia branch; Mr. Eckstine; and Dr. Harry Greene, who accepted the check on behalf of the NAACP. The presentation was made in Philadelphia, Pa.* BOTTOM: *Walter White, second from left, looks pleased as he accepts a check for $1,000 for the NAACP from Frank Summers of the East St. Louis, grand polemarch of the Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity. Last year the fraternity took out a $500 life membership.*

■ **The author says that American racism reaches out even to France**

American Negroes in France

By Richard Wright

BECAUSE there are no Black Belts in France which would enable heads to be counted in a racial manner, there are no official figures on the number of American Negroes in the French community. Rough estimates claim that there are more than 500 American Negroes in France, about half of which reside permanently or temporarily in Paris, the rest being scattered throughout the provinces. Occupationally, they comprise a diverse and varied lot, ranging from GI students, journalists, doctors, governmental employees, musicians, entertainers, independent artists and writers who are self-supporting and make their contribution to the daily life of France.

The U. S. Negro's status in France differs greatly from his status in America mainly in this: In America he was forced by law and custom to live in areas designated as "Black Belts," while in France he is lost amidst 40,000,000 Frenchmen who are indifferent to the color of their skin. The American Negro in France goes about his daily routine with no anxiety of having to cope with arbitrary racial assaults directed against him on residential, occupational, social, or educational grounds.

Yet, and understandably so, there lies uneasily in the background of the U. S. Negro's mind the memory of racial wrongs which he suffered before coming to France which, to him, is a land of refuge, the only spot on earth which allows him the chance to live in a normal human atmosphere. France to him represents a state of humane civilization in which he is not coddled or singled out, but just simply "left alone." The U. S. Negro realizes, of course, that France is rent with social, political, and economic problems; he knows that France is no Utopia; but the difference in his life in France as compared with that of America

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RICHARD WRIGHT, *the well-known American novelist, now lives in Paris, France.*

is so vast and deep that there is in his heart a feeling of gratitude for being allowed to live as a man among men.

NEW ANXIETY

But something has begun to happen to the U. S. Negro in France; a new kind of anxiety has entered his consciousness; and this new worry has nothing to do with Frenchmen or their behavior towards him. With the advent of the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact, the U. S. Negro has witnessed the spread and deepening of American influence in France. The constricting racial influences from which he had fled seem to be coming nearer to him across the Atlantic. For the first time since he landed in France as a refugee visitor, the U. S. Negro is asking himself: To what extent will some Frenchmen, eager to please Americans, accept racial doctrines alien to French traditions or customs?

If the Negro had only the French community to contend with, they would have no concern. But each day world events are showing that France is no longer just *France;* France is a nation whose attitudes are being modified on the one hand by America's growing military and industrial might, and on the other by the challenge of Russia. Daily, U. S. Negroes have watched French conditions of life sway and retreat under the impact of one or the other of these nationalistic blocs.

In the neighborhoods in which they live, Negroes have heard Frenchmen voice fear and concern about the fate of French freedom, about the national humiliation to which France is being subjected, and on these occasions U. S. Negroes have expressed their sympathy to the French and they had a double right to do so, both as guests of France and as partisans of freedom. To an extent that white Americans do not feel the capacity or the need, the U. S. Negroes have sought a solidarity with French attitudes as though for protective coloration, and they have caught, as if by contagion, the French apprehension of the loss of their freedom, of the fear of America and the dread of Russia.

With the advent of each new white American GI on French soil, the U. S. Negro feels that his immunity from American racism was that much less secure. Also, the U. S. Negro observed that American spokesmen in France come almost exclusively from U. S. governmental officials of a stridently nationalistic type representing governmental or political plans. There is no voice of liberalism, no humane tone to echo the deeply humanistic yearning of average Americans.

DEEP KINSHIP

Feeling a deep kinship with French ideals of liberty, U. S. Negroes have reacted sharply. They well know that the status of France today makes it necessary for her to accept American aid, but who better than American Negroes, victims of 300 years of American "kindness," can best tell when the danger line of "kindness" has been passed, when "giving" ceases to be giving and passes insensibly into 'taking," when "help" is no longer help but domination?

Our quarrel, frankly, as U. S. Ne-

groes, is with our fellow countrymen, those white Americans who take pride in damning French life and culture 24 hours a day; white Americans, who, while speaking out of one side of their mouths about freedom and democracy, continue to practice racial exclusiveness.

I cite a few examples:

1) Not a single American commercial firm in all France employs a single American Negro, and among these firms are the following American industrial giants: The Guaranty Trust Company of New York; J. P. Morgan and Company; Commercial Cables; The American Express Company; The Chase National Bank; Kodak; Standard Oil; Shell Oil; U. S. Steel; Western Union; International Harvester; etc.

2) Until a year ago, U. S. Government agencies in Europe rarely employed Negroes.

3) The American Hospital in Paris, in 25 years of its existence, has never employed an American Negro.

4) White American tourists, ladened with dollars and racist psychology, have forced a few French hotels to enforce racial practices for the first time in recent French history.

5) An increasing multiplicity of clashes between white GI's and U. S. Negro civilians in Paris have been witnessed in recent months.

6) The barbarous and drunken behavior of white Americans in Paris has been observed by Frenchmen with pain and embarrassment.

7) In the press (Perry Miller's article in the recent issue of *The Atlantic Monthly*) and in private, white Americans have continuously attacked the culture and the national qualities of French character.

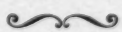
EXPLANATIONS DEMANDED

The above are but a few highlights of American attitudes and behavior in France which have caused many Frenchmen to turn to American Negroes to demand explanations for such rigorous nationalistic manifestations on the part of their white fellow countrymen.

American Negroes, in defense of their liberty and as a gesture of friendship and solidarity toward their French neighbors, organized themselves into a group. As much to aid Frenchmen as themselves, they launched the Franco-American Fellowship whose aim is to raise again the concept of freedom, generosity, the dignity and sanctity of the individual.

While keeping scrupulously clear of French domestic politics, Franco-American Fellowship stands as a witness for freedom, offering an outstretched hand to others who are likewise concerned about keeping alive a creative concept of man. Franco-American Fellowship hailed with pride the campaign among French intellectuals to save the life of William McGee from the legal lynching of Mississippi mobs.

To Frenchmen of good will, to French lovers of liberty, Franco-American Fellowship declares its willingness to stand in solidarity with those Frenchmen who place freedom before all else, who feel the need to reassert the proud traditions of French culture and history.



Pease

MEMBERSHIP PRIZES—*L. C. Moore, chairman of the membership committee of the Fairfax county, Va., branch, presents the first prize for securing the largest number of memberships in northern Virginia during* 1950 *to Mrs. M. E. Henderson of Falls Church, Va. Second prize went to Mrs. Frances Coates (third from left) of Falls Church.*

DID YOU KNOW —

That Cuvier found three races of men, Thomas Huxley eleven, Deniker seventeen, and Haeckel thirty-four?

Good News

The Rev. Dr. Jesse Belmont Barber, for seven years dean of the theological seminary at Lincoln University (Pa.), has been installed as Secretary for Work with Colored People by the Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Dr. Barber was a member of the Board of National Missions from 1933 to 1949, and was elected in 1950 to the post he now assumes.

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Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York has appointed Elmer A. Carter of New York City as a member of the New York State Defense Council. Mr. Carter is a member of the State Commission Against Discrimination as well as a member of the World War II State War Council.

The twelve members appointed by Gov. Dewey are public representatives on the 23-member State Defense Council, which has sweeping powers to place New York State on a war footing in the event of enemy attack.

★ ★ ★

For the first time in the history of the New York City Cancer Committee, three Negroes have been elected to the board of directors which sets the policy and does the over-all planning for the committee. The three are Mrs. Etnah R. Boutte, pharmacist; Dr. John E. Moseley, chief radiologist at Sydenham Hospital; and Dr. Louis T. Wright, surgical director of Harlem Hospital.

★ ★ ★

Mrs. Sarah Murphy, founder of the Georgia Negro Orphanage, was honored by Lucille Wall as "Woman of the Week" on a broadcast of "Portia Faces Life" over NBC on May 16.

★ ★ ★

William Warfield, concert baritone, received a scroll from the Committee for the Negro in the Arts in May for his "outstanding contributions in music and theatre."

★ ★ ★

A former Boy Scout, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, director of the division of trusteeship of the United Nations, and recent winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, was one of eight men honored in May with the award of the Silver Buffalo for "distinguished service to boyhood" by the National Council of the Boy Scouts of America. The presentation was made at a luncheon of the National Council's 41st annual meeting at the Hotel Stevens in Chicago. Dr. Bunche was a Scout at Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Baltzegar Photos

INSTALLATION CEREMONIES—*NAACP regional director Franklin H. Williams (at microphone) installs new officers of the NAACP Northwest Area Conference at conclusion of the reorganizational conference held in Portland, Oregon, April 28. Left to right: Mr. Williams, William Underwood, president northwest area conference; Frederick Chew, chairman executive committee, Tacoma branch; Mrs. Otto Rutherford, Portland branch; Charles Williams, treasurer, Portland branch; Mrs. Lotta Ellis, secretary area conference.* BOTTOM: *Delegates in attendance at Northwest Area Reorganizational Conference of the NAACP in Portland, Oregon, April 28, 1951.*

JOHN H. HARMON III, *of Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Penn., receiving the NAACP membership of Horace A. Hildreth, former governor of the state of Maine.* BOTTOM: *Members of the cancer committee at Wilberforce State College open their annual drive in Greene county. Seated, left to right: Mrs. Olivette David and Mrs. Winfrey. Standing, left to right: Mrs. Victoria Dickerson, Mrs. Blonzetta Howard, chairman of the Xenia cancer committee; Dr. Louis Jackson, and Mrs. Louise Garcia. Other members of the committee not shown in the picture are Mabel Askew, Mrs. Margaret Hardeon, Mrs. Jayme Williams, and Mrs. Elizabeth Anderson.*

McCloud

MASONIC CONFERENCE—*At the Grand Masters Conference of Prince Hall Masons in Denver, Colorado, on May 8, Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, chats with Amos T. Hall, president of the conference, and J. Wesley Dobbs, past president of the conference. From left to right: Amos Hall, Thurgood Marshall, and J. Wesley Dobbs.*

PRINCE HALL MASONS GIVE NAACP ANNUAL GRANT

A RESOLUTION pledging a total of $20,000 annually to the Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., of the NAACP for the purpose of setting up and maintaining a legal research bureau was adopted in Denver during the annual meeting of the Grand Masters Conference of Prince Hall Masons.

The resolution was passed following a short address by Thurgood

McCloud

DELEGATES IN ATTENDANCE *at the Grand Masters Conference of Prince Hall Masons held in Denver, Colorado, on May 8, 1951. Thurgood Marshall made a short address to the conference.*

Marshall, NAACP special counsel, who reviewed the recent legal victories of the Association and outlined needs for future successful activity. The money will be raised by state organizations of the Prince Hall Masons and will be sent to the NAACP through Amos T. Hall, grand master of the Prince Hall Free and Accepted Masons of Oklahoma, and president of the Grand Masters Conference.

In expressing appreciation for the grant, the board of directors of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund stated that the funds would make it possible to set up a staff to concentrate on the involved legal research necessary to the types of cases now being filed by the NAACP. The board declared:

> "Freedom loving Americans in general and the NAACP in particular are indebted to the Prince Hall Masons for this tangible expression of their determination to make the fight for civil rights an integral part of their program. The generous grant of funds will be earmarked for the purposes stated and will do much toward the continuation of our legal fight to establish first class citizenship for all Americans."

■ **An article-review of a searching report on the African element in Cuban folk music**

Afro-Cuban Folk Music

By Irene Diggs

FERNANDO ORTIZ has published numerous books on criminality, linguistics, archeology, slavery, economics, and folklore. His latest book* has as its theme the musics of Africa and their transculturation in America, the recognition of the aesthetic values of their rhythms, their harmony, melody, and poetry. Minute descriptions are given of the instruments of Africa and Cuba and their place in religion and magic. Ortiz has brought together an enormous amount of data gleaned from the writings of explorers, missionaries, anthropologists, ethnologists, musicologists, and his own personal study and observation. Undoubtedly there will be those who may wish to question some of his interpretations, especially those based on outdated sources.

The book consists of five chapters. The first is devoted to Afrocuban and Indocuban music. For Ortiz folk music is one of Cuba's most typical characteristics. Folk music in Cuba is described as fire, smoke, *sabrosura;* he characterizes it as winsome, graceful, elegant and fascinating, a sonorous rum drunken through the ears and feet with repercussions in the entire body; he calls it relief. In Cuba, according to Ortiz, folk music implies something ethnological and national; it involves strata and status. Afro in Cuba has been and still is basic: *La gente de abajo* [people from the lower depths]. Folk music is *de abajo,* whether it be urban or rural. Many examples of instruments, songs and dances, rites and ceremonies which have survived in Cuba are cited by Ortiz and for them he claims greater "authenticity" in the cities, especially in the marginal barrios, than in the rural districts. The author gives evidence of regional or provincial differences in Cuba. For each of the six provinces there is distinct and characteristic music.

In the formation of Cuban folk music Africa and Europe have intervened, directly from Africa and from Africa via Europe. Asiatic and Indian have contributed, perhaps,

* *La Africanía de la Música Folklórica de Cuba* (The African Influence in Cuban Folk Music). Par Fernando Ortiz. Habana: Ediciones Cardenas Y Cia, 1950. XVI+ 477pp. 83 Figures. $7.00 Cuban Pesos.

DR. IRENE DIGGS, *a graduate of the University of Habana, teaches anthropology at Morgan College, Baltimore, Md.*

but European and African more intensely and more permanently. What might be termed "genuine" Cuban music of cosmopolitan appeal, the music most characteristic of Cuba, that music for which Cuba is most universally known is that music which stems from Africa but nevertheless represents a transculturation —Afro-Euro-Cubano. The union of Spain's guitar with Africa's tambor; the amalgamation of the music brought by the blacks of Africa and the whites and mulattoes of Europe created the mulatto folk music of Cuba.

MULATTO MUSIC

The mulatto brought to Cuba mulatto music; mulattoes and mulatto music were made in Cuba. To Cuba came *morenos,* whites, and *pardos* and the music in their tambores and guitars already had been "amulatada" [become mulatto]. To be "amulatada" is "Cuban, simply Cuban". In the Iberian Peninsula there were thousands of *morenos* and *pardos* before there were *morenos* and *pardos* in Cuba. In the Iberian Peninsula resounded the tambores before Columbus was born. He must have heard them in Lisbon and Sevilla. Cubaans are not only a mixture of diverse Europeans, but Ortiz reminds the reader that Spaniards technically and culturally are an amalgamation of the indigenous population of spain with Arabs, Moors, and the many and varied "nations" of Africa, "nations" which differed not only in culture but in physiognomy.

For Ortiz the term African music has about the same meaning as European music; that is, there are perhaps as many types and styles of music indigenous to Africa as there are styles and types of European music; styles and types which vary not only in general form and structure, but in rhythm. To study the folk music of Cuba one must be aware of that which proceeds from Dahomey, that which the Lucumí and Carabalí brought, that which is Bantu or Congo. Ortiz informs us there is music Carabalí in the rituals of the Ñañigos, something of the music of Dahomey, perhaps less of Gangá, Takuá and Iyesá, but that the African music in Cuba which appears to be most "conserved" is that to be found in the religious liturgies of the Yoruba or Lucumí. (pp. 106, 107) That each of these musics brought to Cuba its peculiar instruments of varied sounds and structures Ortiz does not doubt although today, perhaps, it is impossible to classify musical theme and element according to origin such has been the miscegenation with Europeans and so far-flung was the area from which the "nations" came.

Afrocuban music, although typical of Cuba, accepted and valued wherever it is known, nevertheless has difficulty, according to Ortiz, in penetrating the centers of the *alta sociedad* in Cuba. Cubans consider it to have beauty, they enjoy it but *no viste* [do not accept it publicly] and therefore one must enjoy it in private. (p. 136) As late as 1900 the use of tambores of African origin in all types of reunions in Havana, private or public, was prohibited. Sentiment in 1927 upheld the enforcement of the regulation. (p. 145) The Cuban Sanchez de Fuentes, as late as 1928, wrote that

African music could scarcely be called music. It not only lacked melody and was noise, but it was not Cuban. Some referred to it as *musica ficta*, music which could not be reduced to symbols and could not be executed except from memory and after one had been "aplantanado", that is to say, after having acquired the genuine spirit of Cuba. (p. 148)

TASTE OF PAGANISM

In Spain and in America, according to Ortiz, African music, although popular and dominant, left an unpleasant after-taste of paganism and slavery. It was circumstantial evidence of bestiality or inspiration of the devil so that serious historians, who themselves knew and enjoyed it, would not cite these compositions in their serious works and an author such as Serafín Ramírez writing at the end of the nineteenth century felt it unnecessary to even mention Afrocuban music in his history of the music of Cuba.

It is interesting to note how many of the African names for tambores or Afrocuban dances have come to mean orgy, noise, confusion, turbulence, turmoil, quarrel, perplexity, falsehood, something scandalous, hurly-burly. In the same way a spree, disorganization and confusion were said to be *merienda de negros, boda de negros* or *cabildo de congos*. (p. 149) Amadeo Roldán used *Rebambaramba*, an onomatopoeic word for the African tambor, as a title of one of his Afrocuban composition but today *rebambaramba* is synonomous with *alboroto* (confusion). p. 149)

The second chapter deals with the controversy as to whether the Negro is more musical than other ethnic groups. There is no gainsaying that the Negro has been profoundly influenced by music and that in turn his music has profoundly influenced others.

If music renders homage to love, the music of Africa offers a sensual and carnal toast. If music is the amorous imagination expressed in sound, the music of Africa is vividly expressive. If music is action, the queen of muscular movement with infinite rhythms is the music of Africa. If music has a language, can any instrument be more articulate than the tambor? Whether there be necessity for communication over long or short distances the tambor of Africa speaks and is understood. If music springs from the anxiety to interpret in the language of the gods that which is magic then the tambor has the necessary mystery of sound, weird ominous sounds which surprise, suggest, charm and predict.

Tambores possess voices from the other world. If music brings sorrow as well as joy, if music placates the gods and drive away the evil spirits before there is no denying the capacity of the music of Africa to soothe, to conjure sorrow, terror and suffering.

MAGIC IN MUSIC

Chapter three discusses the relationship between sound and words, between poetry, music, religion and magic in the folk music of Cuba. It appears that on occasion the rhythmic phrases of a tambor per se has sacred meaning. It seems that in some liturgies the musical phrase is of greater importance while the words are mere ornamentation. At times words with unknown mean-

ings, for this very reason, provide the mystery for illusion of the supernatural. These mysterious words thicken the plot, they enhance the magic formulae. (p. 218) On other occasions there is surrender to the words, improvised or traditional; piquant, satirical comments on the happenings of the day. (p. 220) Under these circumstances the words are interesting and full of significance.

Rhythm and melody are discussed in chapter four. Ortiz maintains that without doubt Afrocuban music has received the major part of its richness of melody from the whites but no one would be able to demonstrate that the Negro has abandoned in Cuba his ancestral melodies, many of which have become part of current popular dance music. (pp. 248, 249) For Ortis, however, the predominant element in the folk music of Cuba is African rhythm, and not because of race, for the explanation is cultural: "Rhythm is characteristic of non-literate societies. Rhythm rather than reason motivates the primitive. His emotions are more responsive to cadence than to prudence." (p. 249)

Dr. Ortiz ends the book by assuring the reader that in African music there is always a *diablito* or many *diablitos*. Be there many devils or only one, does not the same occur in all music?

DID YOU KNOW —

That "the Liberator" Simon Bolivar (1783-1830) was reputed to have "a slight strain of Negro blood"?

There is, however, no evidence available to prove this "strain of Negro blood." Bolivar's great-grandmother, Josefa Marín de Narváez, was the natural daughter of Captain Marín de Narváez. But no one has been able to identify Josefa Marín's mother. When the father later recognized his daughter in his will (1675) leaving her his property, he mentioned the mother merely as "an illustrious maiden" ("una doncella principal").

Bolivar's enemies have insisted, nevertheless, that this "illustrious maiden" was, by turns, an "Indian woman of Aroa" (Rafael Diego Merida started this rumor), "a mixed-blood," "a parda," "a black slave woman," and "a Venezuelan mulatto woman." But Luis Alberto Sucre wisely concludes that "The mystery of this child's birth [Josefa Marín Narváez] is still to be solved despite the efforts of historians and genealogists to clear it up" (*Genealogía de la familia del Liberatador Simón Bolívar*, 1930, p. 126). He then adds that she could have been *mestiza, parda,* "or a white woman of the purest Spanish lineage" ("o blanca de la más pura extraccón española").

★ ★ ★

That one of the most striking fallacies in the race credo is the identification of race with language?

Editorials

TRENTON ACQUITTAL

ACQUITTAL of four of the Trenton Six is heartening news though tempered by the conviction of two of the men. Two of the freed men, Horace Wilson and John McKenzie, were in this their third trial defended by the NAACP. As for the two convicted men, there seems to be no evidence against them and the hope is that they will be eventually freed. In finding Ralph Cooper and Collis English guilty, the jury recommended mercy, which in New Jersey means a mandatory sentence of life imprisonment. Interested citizens are already taking steps to appeal the sentence of the convicted men.

The Trenton Six case began three years ago when William Horner, a secondhand furniture dealer in Trenton, was found beaten to death with a pop bottle in the back room of his shop. There was never any tangible evidence connecting the Six with the crime. In fact, it was not until ten days after the murder that the police picked up Collis English for driving his father's Ford without a license. Police asked him about the Horner murder and then subjected him to a 19-hour grilling until he signed a "confession." When McKinley Forrest, English's brother-in-law, came to see what had happened to English, he was also arrested. Arrest of the other four named in English's "confession" followed, and at their first trial, when all six were defended by Communist organizations, all six were convicted. The case quickly attracted international attention because it seemed that the men were being tried for their color and not their crime.

Even now the jury verdict achieves only partial justice. Meanwhile, the fight must go on to free the two convicted men.

SEGREGATED SCHOOL DECISION

THE decision of the special federal court upholding the legality of the segregated school system in South Carolina has not solved the problem of jim-crow education. The fight has just begun, and the NAACP is going to appeal immediately the decision of the court. Although the court upheld the separate school system, it ordered the trustees of the Clarendon county schools to equalize facilities for Negroes and whites and to report within six months. How this is going to be done is a puzzle, for state counsel Robert Figg himself admitted during the trial in May that it would take at least $40,000,000 to equalize Negro schools in South Carolina.

The opinion of the three-judge court was a 2-to-1 decision, with Judge John J. Parker of Charlotte, N. C., and Judge George Bell Timmerman of Columbia, S. C., agreeing that segregation in public education is constitutional. They argued that under the federal Constitution a state has "the power to legislate with respect to the safety, morals, health and general welfare. And in no field is that right of the several states more clearly recognized than in that of public education."

Judge J. Waties Waring of Charleston, however, wrote a dissenting opinion. He held that "segregation is per se inequality." That "the whole thing is unreasonable, unscientific and based upon unadulterated prejudice." And Judge Waring is right!

Segregation has always meant inequality, and no matter how many millions the southern states might spend they can never equalize jim-crow educational facilities. Nor are the large appropriations which many southern states are making for public education in their efforts to halt the fight on segregation an answer. There is only one answer—abolition of the jim-crow system. Negroes are especially fed up with the inferior education they are getting in segregated schools, and the NAACP is determined to topple the system. Temporary setbacks will only make the Association fight all the harder.

STILL NO FEPC

PRESIDENT TRUMAN has been promising Negroes an FEPC by executive order for some six months now. But there is still no order. Just recently he wrote letters to the chairman of the Civil Service Commission and the Director of the Budget reminding them that "the man-power conservation program should be given top priority throughout the Executive branch." Why doesn't Mr. Truman issue an order specifically asking for fair employment practices in those industries working on government contracts?

Industry is crying for workers, yet the minority labor pool has hardly been tapped. In the Detroit, Mich., area, for example, most employers still demand white workers of the employment agencies. And we get similar reports from other industrial areas.

Now as during the last war the question of a fair chance at defense jobs is of paramount importance to Negroes, and they cannot regard anyone as a friend when he fails to remove the racial barriers to their full employment.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

EDUCATION

Jim Crow Schools: The ultimate fate of the entire system of segregated education in the South may be decided by the three southern-born federal court judges with whom the legal attack by the NAACP on the jim-crow schools in Clarendon county, South Carolina, now rests.

Senior Circuit Judge John J. Parker of Charlotte, N. C., and federal district judges J. Waties Waring, of Charleston, and George Bell Timmerman, of Columbia, have reserved decision in the case after two days of testimony, during which the NAACP presented several expert witnesses to testify as to the detrimental effects of segregation on school children. NAACP attorneys, headed by special counsel Thurgood Marshall, argued the case on behalf of sixty-seven Negro school children of Clarendon county and their parents.

It is expected that the decision will be appealed to the United States Supreme Court, no matter which side wins.

In summing up the plaintiffs' case for the court, Mr. Marshall asserted that the NAACP had proved that the segregated school system has a permanent injurious effect on Negro children. In South Carolina, he said, where all the school officials are white, there is a condition "worse than segregation . . . there's exclusion from the group that runs everything. The children see it, and they see they are compelled to go to inferior schools."

"The Negro child is branded in his own mind as inferior; he thus acquires a road block in his mind which prevents his ever feeling that he is equal," Mr. Marshall declared. "You can teach him the Constitution, anthropology, citizenship, but he knows it isn't true."

A long string of expert witnesses told the court that the facilities for Negro children in Clarendon county were in no way equal to those provided for white children, and attempted to show the manner in which such inequality would harm the children. Mr. Marshall stated that the NAACP was presenting "persons from as many fields as possible, with differing viewpoints," to cast light on the various types of evils brought about by segregation.

Dr. David Krech, visiting associate professor of psychology at Harvard University, asserted that through legally-enforced segregation "we build into the Negro the very characteristics which we then use to justify prejudices." Dr. James L. Hupp, professor of psychology at West Virginia Wesleyan University, a Methodist college which began admitting Negro

Baltzegar

HAZEL SCOTT, *noted concert pianist, signs an application blank for membership in Portland, Oregon, NAACP after her concert in that city.*

students two years ago, said: "Children, white or black, do not get social development if segregated." Other witnesses also testified that segregation is detrimental to white children as well as Negro.

Two of the NAACP's witnesses dscribed in detail the poor facilities provided for Negro pupils in Clarendon county. Dr. Matthew J. Whitehead, assistant registrar at Howard University, told the court that two surveys he made of the Negro schools showed that they were poorly equipped, crude, inadequate, unsanitary, and badly staffed. Dr. Harold J. McNally, associate professor of education at Columbia University, deplored the inadequacy of the health facilities in the schools and asserted that "all the experiences a child encounters constitute his education, and if he has poor health facilities he will develop poor health habits."

In response to questioning by NAACP assistant special counsel Robert L. Carter, Dr. McNaliy said that equality could never be possible in segregated schools. "If one considers the purpose of public school education in a democracy," he stated, "it is clear that here is the only place where a child encounters others from every economic level; here alone they come to know one another, and . . . develop respect for the historic concept of equality."

Dr. Kenneth Clark, assistant professor of psychology at the College of the City of New York, reported on results of tests he administered to the plaintiffs aged 6-9. He said he found that discrimination and segregation caused the children to be disturbed and confused in their own self-esteem and gave them feelings of inferiority and hostility toward themselves. He described these injuries as enduring and stated that their net effect was to prevent the children from developing into wholesome persons.

Mrs. Helen Trager, a lecturer at Vassar College and an expert consultant in education and human relations, corroborated Dr. Clark's testimony by relating results of tests she conducted on Negro children.

Other expert witnesses testifying for the NAACP included Dr. Louis Kesselman, associate professor of political science at the University of Louisville; and Dr. Ellis Knox, professor of education at Howard University. Although Dr. Robert Redfield, University of Chicago anthropologist, was still en route to Charleston when the trial was adjourned, it was agreed that his testimony in the trial of the University of Texas case would be similar to testimony he would offer here, and the previous testimony was read into the record. Dr. Thomas Newcombe, professor of psychology at the University of Michigan, arrived with Dr. Redfield after the adjournment.

A surprise turn at the trial took place when Robert McG. Figg, chief counsel for the state, admitted that inequalities in the white and Negro schools exist and asked the court to grant time to remedy the situation. He said that an estimated $40,000,000 would be needed to equalize schools in the state and that this year the state levied a 3 percent sales tax and floated a $75,000,000 bond issue for the purpose.

Mr. Marshall asserted that the courts had held that the rights guaranteed under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution are "rights that must be given now," and noted that in eighty years under the so-called separate but equal doctrine, the state had failed to begin to provide equal facilities for both races.

Attorneys assisting Mr. Marshall and Mr. Carter in the presentation of the NAACP's case were A. T. Walden of Atlanta, Arthur D. Shores of Birmingham, Ala., Harold Boulware of Columbia, S. C., and Spottswood M. Robinson, III, of Richmond, Va.

Real Heroes: The real heroes in the Clarendon county fight against segregation in public education are the Negroes of Clarendon county, S. C., who, withstanding all pressures, fully supported the Association effort to abolish jim-crow schools in South Carolina. Thurgood Marshall and Robert Carter, lawyers in the case, issued the following praise of the plaintiffs:

Regardless of the decision in the Clarendon county school case, the real heroes are the Negroes in South Carolina and especially those in Clarendon county. Many of us who sit in comfortable and safe homes in other sections of the country will never understand the courage of these people in Clarendon county, a rural prejudiced southern community, who dared the risks involved in their bold challenge to white supremacy. To their aid came the NAACP state conference under the leadership of James M. Hinton, who has never lost his will to fight for human rights, even after having been almost lynched himself. The nearest one can get to understanding the enormity of the tasks these people took on is to imagine oneself in their position, and to ask the question: "Would I have that much courage?" If you are honest with yourself the answer would most probably be "No!"

The Negroes of Clarendon county and other sections of South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama crowded the court house for the trial, knowing that only a small proportion of them could get into the small courtroom. A very few got seats; a few more stood shoulder to shoulder for hours in the courtroom, which was so crowded that they could not even move. The others stood outside the door and in the hallway. Many had children with them. All of them were extremely well behaved and were living proof of the determination of our people to seek justice in a lawful manner.

These spectators were neither prosperous nor highly educated. Nor did they come from the big cities. For the most part they came from rural communities and made the trip to Charleston to give their support to the Negroes in Clarendon county. They knew what havoc segregation wrecks. If anyone ever tells you that Negroes like and want segregation, remind him of these people. It was indeed a wonderful experience to be able to be a witness to this display of greatness in human spirit.

Education Fight in Virginia: In Virginia the Association is attacking the segregation laws of the state which require Negro school children to be educated in facilities separate from those available to white students. This suit is one phase of the battle being waged in South Carolina, Kansas, and Georgia to test the constitutionality of the segregated public school system.

The fight in Virginia is a two-front battle. In one action the Association has filed a motion requesting that Negro children be admitted to, enrolled and educated in the public schools of Pulaski county. Negro students in the county now ride sixty miles a day to receive an inferior education in an adjoining county, since the three Pulaski high schools are restricted to whites only. Elementary school facilities for Negro children in the county are vastly inferior to those available to whites.

The Pulaski school suit, originally filed in federal district court in 1947, was appealed to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in 1949, after the lower court ruled in favor of the school board. The Circuit Court reversed the lower court's ruling and directed that the plaintiffs be given the relief sought.

In another action, the NAACP has filed a petition seeking non-segregated educational facilities for Negro high school students in Prince Edward county, where 455 students of Moton High School went out on strike for better educational facilities. Advising the striking students to return to school (which they did on May 7, after having been out for two weeks), the NAACP announced that if county officials do not comply with their petition, it is expected that the Negro students of the county will file suit seeking the termination of the segregation.

University North Carolina Victory: Exactly one year after the *Sweatt* and *McLaurin* decisions striking down segregation in state-supported graduate and professional schools, the U. S. Supreme Court has turned down a petition asking it to review a lower-court decision ordering the University of North Carolina to admit qualified Negro students to the law school.

This action by the high tribunal opens the door for Negro students to attend the U.N.C. law school beginning with this summer's session and prevents further denial of admission to Negro applicants because of their race and color. It is considered as the final stamp of victory in the all-out legal attack by the Association to break down the jim-crow patterns on the graduate and professional levels.

Within the year since the unanimous decisions in the *Sweatt* and *McLaurin* cases, handed down June 5, 1950, the NAACP has tried a series of legal cases which have culminated in the opening of state universities heretofore closed to Negroes. The Association estimates that approximately 300 Negroes are now students in state-supported southern universities as a result of the *Sweatt* and *McLaurin* rulings. Including private schools and summer sessions, the figure comes to about 2,000.

The admission of Negro students to state-supported graduate and professional schools has been accomplished in the states of Oklahoma, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, Arkansas, Missouri, Louisiana, and North Carolina. In addition, Negro students are attending undergraduate colleges at the University of Delaware and will be admitted to the University of Louisville and Paducah Junior College, Ky.

There are also Negro students at the engineering and nursing schools of the University of Maryland and the graduate school of the College of William and Mary in Virginia. A large number of private colleges in the South—notably in Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia and Texas—have also dropped racial barriers.

Only in six southern states has the jim-crow pattern thus far remained unchanged on the graduate and professional levels—Florida, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina.

Suit for admission of Negroes to the University of Florida has been slowed because of procedural difficulties, but NAACP attorneys have expressed confidence that these difficulties will not affect the final outcome. A suit against the University of Tennessee is on appeal to the United States Supreme Court, and the Georgia NAACP has pledged support to the effort of a Negro seeking admission to the University of Georgia.

Only the universities of Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina are still unaffected by the *Sweatt* and *McLaurin* decisions. If the pattern in other states affects these, as it seems safe to assume, the end of the color bar on the graduate and professional levels in the universities of our country is now in sight.

AT THE BANQUET TABLE *of the Pasadena, California, branch of the NAACP.*

What the Branches Are Doing

California: Mrs. Connie Foster of the PASADENA branch writes that the local white press is giving the branch encouraging publicity. The branch also issues a mimeographed monthly bulletin entitled *NAACP*.

The branch has a church coordinating committee to work with local ministers in coordinating the work of the branch and the local churches.

Branch officers are Dr. A. R. Taylor, president; Paul Johnson, first vice-president; Laura McLauchlin, second vice-president; Mrs. Lillian Mims, secretary; and John Wright, treasurer. Committee chairmen are as follows: Paul Johnson, membership; Atty. Charles Johnson, legal redress; Fletcher Smith, legislation; Don Bushnell, labor and industry; Mrs Lillian Mims, education; Mrs. Cora Sweeney, entertainment; Frances Palamore, youth council; Laura McLauchlin, community coordination; Frank Williams, veterans; Mrs. P. L. Williams, housing; and Mrs. A. H. Foster, press and publicity.

Connecticut: Thirteenth annual New England regional conference of NAACP branches was held in HARTFORD April 21-22 in the Metropolitan AME Zion church. Dr. Frank Horne, assistant to the administrator of the National Housing and Home Finance Agency of Washington, D. C., was the principal speaker. Welcome addresses were delivered by Gov. John Lodge of Connecticut and Mayor Cyril Coleman of Hartford.

Florida: Harry T. Moore, state executive secretary of the Florida state conference of NAACP branches, sent out a letter to officers and branches in his state calling their attention to the significance of the U. S. Supreme Court decision which reversed the death sentences in the Groveland case. Mr. Moore called attention to the grand job the NAACP is doing for Florida Negroes. "So often our people," he wrote, "complain because they cannot see where the NAACP is doing anything in their state or community. We should remind our people that the Groveland reversal in the second Florida case won in the U. S. Supreme Court within the past eleven years."

In view of this court victory, Mr. Moore asked the state conference to bring in a 25,000-NAACP membership for 1951.

Georgia: W. W. Law of SAVANNAH reports the following honors which have come to members of the NAACP youth group: James L. Gibbs, Jr., president of the Cornell University NAACP chapter, has been elected president of next year's senior class at Cornell. Robert B. Bailey, III, a senior at Talladega college, is recipient of a Fulbright grant to study in England. Mr. Bailey is a member of the Talladega college NAACP chapter and worked at one time in the Roanoke, Va., youth council.

Iowa: Team captains and workers in

Pease

HONORS AWARDED—*Captain Mark O'Sullivan, chairman of the committee to select five Fairfax county citizens most deserving of honors for work in the field of human relations during 1950, presents citations to Mrs. David Madeira Wing, president of the Madeira School for Girls. Others receiving honors (left to right) were W. A. West, Fairfax county branch secretary; E. B. Henderson, chairman of the branch executive committee; Mrs. Fletcher Wellemeyer and Mrs. Mary Livingston.*

DID YOU KNOW —

That Samuel Coleridge Taylor was one of the most prolific of English composers?

the membership drive of the DES MOINES branch were honored in a kick-off dinner given by their drive chairman, A. P. Trotter, on May 1 at the Crocker YMCA. The quota for the drive is 1,000, with each of the teams working for a total of 143.

The *Des Moines Tribune* of April 30, commenting editorially on the "N. A. A. C. P.'s Campaign," writes:

"In Des Moines, the NAACP has had around 1,000 members in recent years—an amazing figure for so specialized an organization—and it has played no small part in the many advances made here."

Kentucky: In a letter to the labor-relations manager, McKinley Ralston, of the F. H. McGraw Company, Paducah, W. C. Young, chairman of the labor department of the PADUCAH branch, wrote, among other things:

"This letter will, we hope, serve to call your attention once again to the policy of racial discrimination which your Company has been following in its employment of workers since the inception of the Paducah ABC project last winter. Although we believe that you are aware of the following instances [they are then listed], we wish again to remind you of them in hopes that at long last your Company will take some remedial action.

". . . So far as we know, and we have made every effort to ascertain the facts, the only Negroes now employed by McGraw, other than janitors, are 63 carpenters and a relatively small number of common laborers, although the total Paducah payroll of the Company now numbers more than 4,000 persons. One Negro cement finisher is believed to be employed at the present time. The Company's failure to employ Negro construction workers in the skilled categories is certainly not due to the fact that none have applied for employment, because to our knowledge a number have done so."

Minnesota: Mrs. Anna Arnold Hedgeman, assistant federal security administrator, was speaker at the April 15 meeting of the MINNEAPOLIS branch. The May 20 meeting consisted of a panel discussion in which the representatives of human-relations organizations in the Twin Cities took a prominent part.

The newly-formed junior NAACP of the Minneapolis branch has elected the following officers: Richard Johns, president; Susan Leland, vice-president; Don Bryant, treasurer; Anne Wilson, corresponding secretary; and Joan Fraction, recording secretary. Henry Thomas is adult advisor to the group.

North Carolina: Kelly Alexander of Charlotte, a member of the NAACP national board and president of the North Carolina state conference, is running as a candidate for the local city council.

New Jersey: The NEWARK branch co-sponsored a program on April 22 honoring its president, Harry Hazelwood, Jr., as "Newark Citizen of the Year." The citation was given Mr. Hazelwood by the Rev. John Dillingham, pastor of the Thirteenth Avenue Presbyterian church and chairman of the finance committee of the local branch.

On May 25 the branch presented the Bordentown a capella choir and modern dance group at the Central high school.

J. A. Miles, president of the BRIDGETON branch, reports that his branch raised a total of $125 for the Trenton Six Case. In addition to this contribution the branch raised $25 on NAACP Sunday and $30 for the defense fund for the men court-martialed in Korea.

New York: Fifteenth annual conference of NAACP branches was held in ELMIRA May 19-20. Elmer A. Carter, a member of the New York commis-

sion against discrimination, delivered the principal address.

Oregon: Franklin H. Williams west coast regional secretary-counsel, conducted an all-day workshop in PORTLAND on April 28.

Pennsylvania: Annual banquet of the EASTON branch was held on April 7, with an address on "American Humanitarianism and the NAACP" by Dr. Horace Mann Bond, president of Lincoln university, Pa.

The BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY chapter conducted a successful membership drive under the director of co-chairmen Marty Acker and Jim Williams. The campaign was a remarkable one. From a previous high of 150 members, the figure reached 300 in a very short time.

An exchange of students with Hampton Institute, Va., has been arranged. This makes it possible for two Bucknell coeds to exchange places with two Hampton girls for a semester's work. Next year Lou Hind and Lou Swetland will attend Hampton in exchange for two Hampton girls who will attend Bucknell for a semester. This exchange has been arranged by the Bucknell chapter.

South Carolina: A 6-year-old ANDERSON girl walked up to the table in church one Sunday and set down two handsful of coins and then looked up with a quizzical eye to ask: "Now, will the NAACP have to go out of business?"

She was Freddie Brown, a first-grade pupil at the South Fant street school popularly known as "Brownie."

"Brownie" had been attending meetings of the NAACP youth council when she heard the executive secretary of the South Carolina state conference appeal for funds to keep the Association going. "Brownie" began gathering up her pennies and when she turned them in she had $3.

Tennessee: According to a report from the MEMPHIS branch, Sears, Roebuck and Company has awarded scholarships to local Negro high-school graduates. This is the first time the company has awarded such scholarships, and the action stems from the request of the scholarship committee of the branch (Hollis Price, Rev. Blair Hunt, L. O. Swinglerm, J. F. Bates, and U. R. Ohillips) to Sears' manager, W. L. Acroyd, that Negroes be included in the scholarship program.

Winners of the scholarship, worth $200 each, are Sylvester Jones and Louis Edward Owens.

Virginia: The settlement of a civil suit against Frank Wood, an ABC agent, has been announced by Attys. Howard Carwile and Martin A. Martin. The case was filed after the law enforcement officials of Charles City county had failed to prosecute Frank Wood for killing Robert Bradby during March 1949. It aroused widespread interest in the county and the commonwealth's attorney was charged with indifference to official duties when he made it very evident that he was reluctant to press for criminal prosecution.

After Wood had been acquitted by the trial-justice court, Carwile and Martin succeeded in presenting the case to the Charles City grand jury, but the grand jury failed to return a true bill against Wood. It was believed that the indifferent attitude of the county sheriff and the commonwealth's attorney contributed to the action of the grand jury.

The civil suit was settled out of court by Mrs. Bradby's counsel because of the technical difficulties involved. It was settled for $600 to be paid to the Bradby estate by Frank Wood or the ABC Board. As far as can be ascertained, this is the first time a state agency has made monetary retribution to the survivors of a Negro victim of

an alleged unlawful act committed by one of its officials.

The FAIRFAX COUNTY branch honored five outstanding county citizens at its opening membership meeting on April 1. Three of those honored were white citizens who had rendered conspicuous service in pursuit of some of the aims of the NAACP. Mrs. Mary Livingston, a niece of the former assistant secretary of state and for several years chairman of the joint PTA committee, worked for better schools and for high school education for Negroes in the county; Mrs. Lucy Wing, the founder of the Madeira school for girls; Mrs. Fletcher Wellemeyer, a newcomer to the county who also worked for improved educational and recreational facilities in the county.

The two others cited were William West, branch secretary; and E. B. Henderson, retired principal.

The Virginia NAACP tightened the lid on the "casket" of racial segregation when the U. S. Supreme Court refused to review the William C. Chance transportation case. When the high court refused to review this case, it upheld the decisions of three U. S. circuit courts of appeal, all of which have recently held that racial segregation of interstate passengers is invalid.

The William C. Chance transportation case was presented to the U. S. Supreme Court on appeal by the Atlantic Coast Line railroad from a decision rendered by the U. S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals. This court held that the carriers' rules and regulations requiring the segregation of interstate passengers was a violation of the passenger's constitutional rights and contrary to the implications of the Irene Morgan decision of the U. S. Supreme Court.

The Chance case grew out of the arrest of William C. Chance, an interstate passenger, at Emporia, Virginia, when Mr. Chance refused to move

CAMPAIGN WORKERS—*Some of the campaign workers in the Des Moines, Iowa, branch* 1951 *membership campaign. The workers were divided into seven divisions, with a steering committee, six captains, and ten workers to each division.*

Brodnax Studio

MEMBERS OF THE RICHMOND, VA., *youth council of the NAACP. Mrs. Phila M. White, adviser to the group, is seated in the second row fifth from right.*

from a coach designated for "white" passengers to a jim-crow coach.

The NAACP brought the case before the U. S. district court for the eastern district of Virginia on behalf of Mr. Chance, charging that (1) Mr. Chance was entitled to monetary damages for delay in travel and false arrest, and (2) that the railroad's rules and regulations were in violation of the passenger's constitutional rights.

The district court awarded Mr. Chance $50.00 in damages but held that the carrier had a right to make and enforce reasonable rules and regulations requiring the segregation of passengers.

The case was appealed by the NAACP to the U. S circuit court. This court sustained the NAACP contention ruling that the carriers' rules and regulations were invalid.

The Atlantic Coast Line appealed the case to the U. S. Supreme Court. The case now goes back to the district federal court for reconsideration on the monetary damages due the plaintiff.

This case is one of the hundreds of NAACP sponsored cases, brought against private transportation companies in Virginia since 1947 in an effort to break down jim-crow travel. While Association efforts have been successful in 95 per cent of Virginia transportation cases, the public has not been fully aware of the tremendous costs involved. For example, the Chance case

(*Continued on page* 421)

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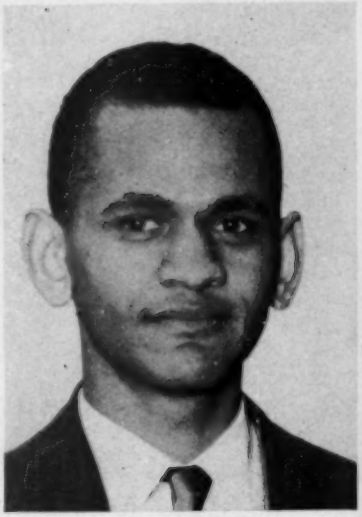

NATHANIEL LAMAR

Nathaniel LaMar of Atlanta, Ga., was one of the ten elected senior class officers to take part in the 170th commencement exercises at PHILLIPS EXETER ACADEMY during the week of June 17. He is one of 229 seniors who will graduate in the traditional ceremonies.

LaMar was elected class poet by members of the graduating class, is a member of the editorial board of *The Review*, and an honor student.

■

Opportunity News in interracial colleges announces two success stories in its May issue. That of

Nathaniel LaMar of Atlanta, Ga., who has been awarded one of Harvard's largest scholarships; and Lois Ann Dickson of Portland, Maine, recently elected president of the sophomore class at Radcliffe. Both students received supplementary aid from the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students.

■

Eighty-first annual commencement was held at HAMPTON INSTITUTE on June 4, with Mary McLeod Bethune delivering the principal address. Dr. Elton Trueblood of Earlham college, Richmond, Indiana, preached the baccalaureate sermon on June 3.

■

HARVARD UNIVERSITY has conferred the degree of Ed. D. upon Collins J. Reynolds, a Detroit, Mich., teacher. Dr. Collins did his work at Harvard on a fellowship granted by the American Council on Education. He served four terms as a special instructor at Wayne university and has recently become a member of the Barbour Intermediate school faculty.

■

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, New York City, is making a one-year loan of painting and sculpture depicting the life of man as seen in various countries from the 10th century B.C. to the present to Fisk, Atlanta, and Dillard universities. The exhibition went the first three months to Fisk, then to Atlanta, and from there it goes to Dillard.

Purpose of the exhibit, explains museum director Henry Taylor, is "to break down barriers and pre-

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WELDON WILLIAMS, *winner of the Talladega all-expense scholarship for* 1951.

judices which have too long existed in cultural life, and to form a background for those studies in which young people of all races and creeds are engaged."

■

Tuskegee president Dr. F. D. Patterson and Bennett college president Dr. David B. Jones have been named to a twenty-two-man educational advisory council to help in guiding the development of a medical school at YESHIVA UNIVERSITY, New York City.

■

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY will conduct four overseas workshops through its summer school. Open to all students from all universities, the four overseas workshops offer graduate and undergraduate credit. One workshop-group will go to

Europe, one to the Caribbean, and one to Israel.

■

University courses on rural missions and on the church and economic life are being offered this summer and fall at three universities (Cornell, Chicago, and Arkansas) under the auspices of the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U. S. A.

■

The COMMITTEE ON DISCRIMINATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION of the American Council on Education sponsored a national student conference on human relations in higher education March 29-31 at Earlham college, Richmond, Indiana. Ninety-five colleges and universities in 27 states were represented by 265 representatives. This was the first national conference of students in many years devoted entirely to discussions of how to encourage and promote the equalization and expansion of opportunities for all persons to share in the experience of higher education without any restriction beyond that of individual capacity.

■

Dr. H. Council Trenholm, executive secretary of THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, has been advised by Dr. Willard Givens, executive secretary of The National Education Association, that Negro members of the NEA in every state are now eligible for nominarion and selection as delegates to the NEA Representative Assembly which meets annually the first week in July.

This action is the outcome of the

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HOLLIS F. PRICE, ***President***
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proposal submitted by the ATA through the NEA-ATA joint committee to the NEA executive committee in Atlantic City on February 18, last.

Heretofore Negro teachers in 15 states could not legally qualify for selection as state-level delegates to the NEA representative assembly because they were prohibited from full membership in the one state association which the NEA had recognized in each state as the affiliated state organization through which NEA delegates are selected and certified.

■

The HARLEM COUNCIL ON EDUCATION for better schools reports that a delegation of parent leaders from five Harlem and Washington Heights schools, New York City, met with representatives of the New York board of education to discuss the matter of bigotry in approved school textbooks.

■

The UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA PRESS has published a social-psychological study comparing the effects of racially segregated public housing with similar non-segrated housing. The book is *Interracial Housing* by Morton Deutsch and Mary Evans Collins.

■

Twenty-five Negroes were included among the 53 opportunity fellowships recipients announced in May by the JOHN HAY WHITNEY FOUNDATION. The fellowship winners will receive grants for training and study totaling $100,000. These awards are being made to American citizens of exceptional promise who, because of arbitrary barriers such

as race, cultural background, or region of residence, have not had the opportunity to develop to the fullest extent their abilities and make their fullest contribution to society.

■

PI LAMBDA THETA, National Association for Women in Education, announces two awards of $400 each, to be granted on or before August 15, 1951, for significant research studies in education. A study may be submitted by any individual, whether or not engaged at present in educational work, or by any chapter or group of members of Pi Lambda Theta.

■

VALPARAISO UNIVERSITY announces its second university institute on race relations, July 30-31, sponsored by the St. Louis Lutheran Society for Better Race Relations, the Chicago Lutheran Society for Better Human Relations, and Valparaiso university.

■

Jacob's Pillow UNIVERSITY OF THE DANCE went into its tenth season this summer under the direction of its founder, Ted Shawn. Among the dancers who will appear at the school will be Jean Léon Destine and his company in Haitian dances.

■

Commencement exercises of the AGRICULTURAL, MECHANICAL AND NORMAL COLLEGE, Pine Bluff, Ark., were held May 29, with Judge William H. Hastie delivering the main address.

■

The STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE at Cheyney, Pa., held its annual com-

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mencement exercises on May 30, with Dr. Francis B. Haas delivering the address.

■

President Horace Mann Bond has announced the election of three new members to the LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Pa.) board of trustees. The new board members are Dr. Ralph Bunche, Nobel Peace Prize winner; Roger Firestone, vice-president of the Firestone Rubber Co.; and Julius Rosenwald II of Elkins, Pa.

Lincoln commencement exercises were held in The Grove on June 5.

■

WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY held its commencement exercises on June 14, with Gov. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan delivering the graduation address.

President Charles Hill of Wilberforce was speaker to a special convocation of Lincoln university (Mo.) students in April.

In announcing the summer session of the university on June 18, Dr. F. A. McGinnis, director, stated that the school will reverse its previous policy by offering classes for beginning freshmen.

■

Rev. F. Townley Lord, pastor of Bloombury Baptist church, London, England, delivered the MOREHOUSE COLLEGE commencement address on June 5 when 142 men received their degrees.

■

A fitting climax to a brilliant founder's day program at SPELMAN COLLEGE came with the announcement of President Florence Read of a gift of $500,000 to the college

development fund from John D. Rockefeller, Jr. The founder's day address was delivered by President Wilbur Eddy Saunders of Colgate-Rochester Divinity School.

Commencement exercises were held at the college on June 4, with Dr. Roger P. McCutcheon, dean of the graduate school at Tulane university, delivering the address.

■

President Felton G. Clark of Southern university was speaker at the 82nd commencement exercises of ATLANTA UNIVERSITY on June 4. Eighty-eight graduate degrees of master of arts, master of science, master of social work, master of library service and master of business administration were awarded on this occasion by Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of the university.

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"Look to the Future" was the subject of STATE COLLEGE President Dr. Charles H. Wesley's address to the seventy-fifth anniversary meeting of the Kentucky Negro Education association.

Professor James T. Henry, of the department of geography at Wilberforce State, was speaker on April 6 before the geography section of the Ohio Academy of Science at Miami university.

■

Robert A. Smith, professor of English at MORGAN STATE COLLEGE, has accepted an appointment to serve as secretary of Workshop Number Seven, which is an affiliate of the National Council of Teachers of English.

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Book Reviews

NEGRO HISTORY

***They Came in Chains* by J. Saunders Redding. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1950. Pp. 320. $3.50.**

Although it is not generally known, during the past century a large and curious assortment of histories on the Negro in the United States have appeared. But since 1947 three volumes have been published which have attempted to bring the history of the Negro up-to-date and give it wider circulation. Unfortunately, only one of these three, John Hope Franklin's *From Slavery to Freedom,* was of genuine historical significance and high quality. The third volume, under review here, adds nothing new nor significant to the known incidents in the chronology of black Americans.

Beginning with the arrival of Negroes in Virginia in 1619, Mr. Redding in eighteen dramatically titled chapters traces the story of the American Negro up to the present. The rigors of slavery are described as "Greed and Blood." A "House Divided" covers, of course, the Civil War. The southern credo of the black man's "place" is examined in the segregated configuration that Booker T. Washington stood for in creating "A Place and a Pattern" for the Negro that the whites desired. And more recent events, especially World War II, are pointed up in a section poetically labeled "If We Must Die." Of course, optimistic, as usual, the volume closes with "The Larger Hope."

They Came in Chains is the eighth title in "The People of America Series," which Lippincott has been publishing since 1943. This volume, as all the others, was written as popular history to appeal to a general audience, rather than to the specialist. The author has covered his material in colorful language that is both interesting and readable. He has dramatized history that is full of real drama, most of it sanguinary and shameful in a nation professing democracy. However, like his recent predecessors he has devoted too little space to more recent episodes in the life of the American Negro. Within the past quarter century the Negro has really accomplished more of real significance than in all the years since emancipation was proclaimed. Consequently, this lends imbalance of treatment, delimits the value of the volume for those who wish to know more details about the Negro since 1925. Perhaps the author's nearness to this material made it impossible for him to evaluate and see it in its proper historical perspective.

As one reads *They Came In Chains* you are ever aware of a quality that the author is personally angry, or that he is imbued with a spiritual bias that skewed his vision and made him treat certain subjects with a feeling of animosity that was not deserved, all of this, of course, indicating a certain lack of objectivity in developing the material. This is especially noticeable in the material on Negro leadership (of

which Mr. Redding is apparently confused) and the education of the Negro. Also, at times he is inaccurate, too loose in his claims, and employs unsuitable language (one does not expect to find a reference to an individual as a "monumental liar" in a history). And you wonder why the author felt he must contribute to the current "Red baiting" hysteria by attempting subtly to smear individuals who long ago have themselves announced and have been publicly cleared by authorities as never having held membership in subversive organizations? These qualities detract so much from what would otherwise be a rather acceptable piece of popular historical literature.

HUGH H. SMYTHE

HISTORICAL PARALLELS

***Journey For Our Time: The Journals of the Marquis de Custine.* Edited and translated by Phyllis Penn Kohler. Introduction by General Walter Bedell Smith. New York: Pellegrini & Cudahy, 1951. VIII+ 338 pp. $4.00.**

They wish to rule the world by conquest; they mean to seize by armed force the countries accessible to them, and thence to oppress the rest of the world by terror.

The average American reading those words would have no trouble guessing the identity of "They," but he probably would be surprised to learn that the sentence was written well over one hundred years ago.

Many such sentences could be quoted from this new translation of "the first 'fellow-traveler's' confession of disillusionment," as General Smith calls it. The Marquis de Custine went to Russia in 1839, as he tells us, "in search of arguments against representative government. I returned from Russia a partisan of constitutions."

He first published his letters in Paris in 1843. The translator-editor states that she used the third edition which was issued in four volumes of approximately four hundred pages each. Apparently the present edition is scarcely one-fifth of the total. Doubtlessly the editor has selected the passages which parallel our present thinking, but even so those parallels are almost uncanny. One can believe that General Smith is exaggerating very little when he says "I could have taken many pages verbatim from his journal and, after substituting present-day names and dates for those of a century ago, have sent them to the State Department as my own official reports."

Would any of the following appear out of place in today's newspapers?

The political system of Russia could not withstand twenty years of free communication with Western Europe.

One is not permitted to subsist in Russia except by sacrificing all to the love of the fatherland. . . .

They have a dexterity for lying, a naturalness in falsehood. . . .

The Russian lives and thinks as a soldier . . . a conquering soldier.

Here, to lie is to protect the social order, to speak the truth is to destroy the State.

The Russians are still convinced of the efficaciousness of the lie; this illusion astonishes me in a people who have used it so much

In order to live in Russia, dissimulation is not enough; feigning is indispensable. To conceal is useful; to feign is essential.

Russia is no more than a conquering society; its strength is not in ideas, it is in war—that is to say, in ruse and in ferocity.

It all sounds so modern, down to the hopeful conclusion:

. . . the future, that brilliant future dreamed of by the Russians, does not depend on them. . . . If passions calm themselves in the West, if unity is established between governments and

subjects, the avid hope of the conquering Slavs will become an idle fancy. Therein lies the danger of allowing them to interfere in our policy and in the counsels of our neighbors.

Journey for our Time is a fascinating study in historical parallels. However, it is doubtful that it is as profound as General Smith implies when he writes that when he was in Moscow, "Custine's letters were the greatest single contribution in helping us to unravel, in part, the mysteries that seem to envelop Russia and the Russians." It should be kept in mind that de Custine spent just two months in Russia; he did not speak Russian; he saw little of Russia besides St. Petersburg and Moscow ("It is true I saw little, but I sensed a great deal."); and finally, although he states that from his journey he "drew a lesson . . . entirely different from the one I had come to ask from it," the letters give no indication of original good will changing to doubt and ultimately to disapproval.

Perhaps these limitations were more than balanced by de Custine's intelligence and his knowledge of history and government. But whether or not you find *Journey for Our Time* the best work for unravelling the mysteries of Russia, you will find it instructive and fascinating. Here is a book you won't be able to resist reading aloud to your friends. It is more quotable than Mrs. Trollope, Alexis de Tocqueville, or James Bryce.

S. C. MARSHALL.

SCHUYLER C. MARSHALL *is a lecturer in history at the University of Pittsburgh.*

OUT OF THE VELD

Wild Conquest. By Peter Abrahams. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950. 309pp. $3.00.

Wild Conquest is the story of the conquest of Africa, the virtual subjugation of its peoples by the land-hungry whites of various nations during the first third of the nineteenth century. It is more than this, for it details the intertribal conflicts that in some degree made possible the conquest of a continent by men whose strange and superior arms would have been less effective against a unified people. Even more, it is the story of human relationships, of mores, of individual and group reactions to a problem that remains with the world even now.

The author poses for himself a problem similar to that of *One World*. To him man is a conquest, a being working out his destiny regardless of the odds. The conquest of Africa, it would appear, is a phase in the history of humankind. It may point the direction of civilization, but it cannot destroy the onward march of mankind. Even after the destruction of the city of Inzwinyani, Mkomozi can say:

"There was a city. It was called Inzwinyani. Mzilikazi was its king, Gubuza was its heart, and an old, old man called Mkomozi was its conscience. . . . Only people go on. It was that Gubuza did not understand. Their power comes and their power goes, but they go on. It was that he could not see, so he died. People go on."

With such searching commentary put into the mouth of one of the patriarchs of an African tribe Abrahams makes clear his message that the world is the habitation of mankind as a whole, a place in which human beings of all races work out their destiny.

In working out his theme Abrahams brings into clear focus several characters representative of the attitudes which go into the making of historical events. Koos Jensen, adamant in his prejudices, capable of incest and rape; Kasper Jensen, embittered by the loss

of his lands and the imagined defection of his slaves; Anna Jensen, sensitive to the core, loving her husband and her children but hating the inhuman thing which her husband is becoming under the influence of his brother and the exigencies of the great trek; Paul As, resentful of the pretenses, the deceit of his own people — these are the main characters which Abrahams delineates on one section of his canvas. All in all, the characters in this book become memorable because of the author's sympathetic treatment of people as people.

Another vital point about *Wild Conquest* is its style. Abrahams begins with a set of quotations from William Blake, thus setting a poetic prose style which with apparent ease he follows throughout the book. This is not to say that Abrahams consciously follows the stylistic patterns of Blake, or Poe, or anyone else, particularly the stream-of-conscience writers. He nevertheless writes a vigorous prose-poetic narrative difficult to equal.

The most disturbing idea in Abraham's narrative is his repeated reference to the British amelioration of interracial conditions on the African continent. Historically it should be well known that during the period with which Abrahams is dealing Britain allowed France to hold Africans in slavery for about five years, though Britain had declared for freedom of colonials and was in position to dictate terms. James Montgomery and other British writers made this quite clear at the time. *Wild Conquest*, though an exceptional novel in several respects as already indicated, fails to point out the nationalistic responsibilities for conquest.

ARTHUR E. BURKE.

COMMUNITY COOPERATION

Neighbors in Action. **By Rachel Davis DuBois. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950. XIV+294pp. $3.00.**

This monograph is a report on an intergroup relations project. It tells of the cooperative development in one school community of three related group techniques for overcoming prejudice and how to help the growth of understanding among peoples of diverse racial and cultural background. The instruments by which this was effected consisted of what was called the Neighborhood-Home Festival, which was held during December and consisted of festivities marking cultural group celebrations of various nationals. Next was the Parranda, a term borrowed from a Puerto Rican custom, which involved visits to the homes of neighbors and a discussion of each other's backgrounds. Finally, there was the Seminar on Home Customs which brought together in a school classroom in the evening the parents of pupils who exchanged experiences on how life was lived in their respective homes. Naturally, in a pilot community in New York City of some forty-odd racial-national representatives some rich results and excellent experiences were derived within the limited scope of the program.

Since this book is the report of a neighborhood "action" program, encompassing both adults and children, it has much to contribute towards bettering the relationships of people who, although from different racial and cultural backgrounds, are forced through economic circumstances or other factors to live together. It is a program that helps to break down walls of isolation to let others know that our neighbors are human beings after all. But this hopeful book has its despairing aspects, too. Ours is a grasping, materialistic culture and sincerity in human relationships is not a notable characteristic. It cannot be expected to create a ripple on the vast sea of American inhabitants in whom prejudices are deep.

HUGH H. SMYTHE

BRANCH NEWS

(*Continued from page* 407)

alone has cost the Virginia NAACP state conference, to date, $2013.41, not including administration expenses that always must accompany such cases.

Officials of the Farmsville and Prince Edward branch are to be commended for their prompt action in making a thorough investigation of the alleged rape on a 12-year-old Negro girl on May 26 near the town of Farmville.

The incident as reported to the executive secretary of the Virginia state conference by branch officials follows:

Wayne Pace, 29-year-old white man, father of two children of Farmville, was arrested Saturday night shortly after 9:00 P.M. charged with the rape of a 12-year-old Negro girl.

Upon receiving the complaint, Prince Edward county Sheriff James T. Clark, States Police Sergeant Stanley, and town officer Nixon went immediately to Pace's home east of Farmville and made the arrest. Pace is being held in Prince Edward county without bail.

According to statements of the vistims and their parent, Pace came to their home in Farmville seeking a baby sitter for his 3 and 4 year old children while he and his wife attended the movies. The mother, Mrs. Rugh Vaughan, said that she was unavailable for the evening but that her two daughters, Irene and Mary Vaughan, ages 12 and 10 respectively, could go.

Pace, who had given his name to Mrs. Vaughan as Johnson, drove approximately four miles east of Farmville, where the alleged rape took place. When he drove into the woods the girls became frightened, jumped out of the car and ran. The older girl (Irene) stumbled and fell, and was caught; while the younger sister escaped and went to a nearby house where she got in touch with her relatives. She was brought back into town by one of the relatives, an uncle. Mary told her story to her mother and investigations were begun.

While investigations were being made, Pace, after making Irene promise not to tell what had happened, returned her to her home where she reported the assault.

She assisted officers in making the arrest by giving the license of the car. Pace was identified by both girls. They live with their mother who has two other younger children.

Commenting on the case, W. Lester Banks compared the similarity of this case with two other alleged rape cases occuring in Virginia within the past 12 months: The Charlottesville rape case, where a white man raped a young Negro woman who had been employed as a baby sitter; and the Isle of Wight rape case, where a young white-bridegroom of two weeks came to Mr. Collins, a Negro home and secured the services of the 16-year-old daughter of Collins to stay with his aged mother while he and his wife attended a movie. Instead of carrying the girl to his home as promised, he took her to a lonely spot and allegedly raped her at the point of a gun.

COMMUNIST PARTY

(*Continued from page* 371)

What Roy Wilkins wrote William Patterson, head of the Communist controlled Civil Rights, on November 22, 1944, holds today for the Communist attitude toward Negroes. Mr. Wilkins wrote:

As soon as Russia was attacked by Germany they dropped the Negro question and concentrated all effort in support of the war in order to help the

Soviet Union. During the war years the disciples of the extreme Left sounded very much like the worst of the Negro-hating southerners.

COMMUNISTS DISCREDITED

After the war the Communists in American trade unions were discredited because of their war-time strike-breaking activities, their speed-up systems, and the forcing of unions under their control to sign unfair labor contracts. As a result Party membership dropped tremendously and Communist leaders were voted out of office in many of the major trade unions such as the National Maritime Union, the Transport Workers Union, the United Automobile Workers of America (CIO), etc.

Negroes also followed this trend and fell away from the Party. The war-time record of the Party had now come home to roost, and obviously the Party would have to change its line.

In April 1945 Jacques Duclos, French Communist leader, addressed a letter to the American Communist Party through the pages of the French Communist journal *Cahiers du Communisme*. Duclos accused the American Communists of "revisionism," blamed this on the Browder leadership, and called for a more "radical" program. So a new "line" was adopted on June 2, 1945, when the national committee of the Communist Political Association issued its "The Present Situation and the Next Tasks." But so thoroughly discredited was the Party that in order to prevent further defection of its membership and ultimate dissolution, it expelled Browder, their erstwhile hero. Browder had become a scapegoat for past Party mistakes. Now followed one of the most obscene spectacles in American political history with the Communist leadership purging itself of "sin" by self-incrimination and grovelling before its Kremlin masters.

DAVIS RECANTS

Ben Davis, the Party's whilom expert on the Negro, did a somersault worthy of a circus acrobat when he tried to return to orthodoxy by accusing his former leader Earl Browder of leading him astray. His recantation, entitled "Calls for Examination on Negro Work," may be found in the July 22, 1945, issue of *The Daily Worker*. After accusing his former taskmaster of "bourgeois poison" Mr. Davis gets right down to serious business with the following apology:

> I did not detect the errors because I was not sufficiently mature. . . . I accepted this false position, I applied it in all my work and most specifically in the field of Negro work with resulting serious differences. . . . I yielded too readily to the atmosphere of Browder. . . . I drew in our Harlem work wrong and illusory conclusions . . . the slogan of ending racial discrimination was in effect seriously weakened. . . . I should have been the first to raise objections . . . we shall have to re-examine every single issue effecting Negro rights.

And Davis even admits to "white chauvinist tendencies within our own ranks . . . I accept a major responsibility for this state of affairs."

In December 1946 the National Committee of the Communist Party revived the self-determination nonsense in its "Resolution on Negro

Rights and Self-Determination," which reads:

> The Communist Party supports the right of self-determination for the Negro people; that is, their right to realize self-government in the Negro majority area in the South.[7]

NEW LINE

The Party then proceeded to propagandize this revived line among Negroes in a pamphlet by Ben Davis, entitled *The Path of Negro Liberation* (April, 1947). According to Mr. Davis, the Party recognizes "the Negro question as the national question within our country and placed the Party squarely in support of the right of self-determination — or self-government — for the Negro people in the Black Belt area in the South. . . . This is now the policy of the Communist Party." (p. 3).

The Communists were re-adopting a policy which had already been repudiated by Negro leaders as a reactionary and vicious program for a more effective mass segregation.

Now that we have analyzed the opportunistic zig-zags of the American Communist Party it becomes obvious that the Communists have performed more twists and turns, more somersaults and cart-wheels than the man on the flying trapeze. Not a one of their dizzy gyrations was dictated by the interests of Negroes or the union workers whose cause they claimed to espouse. For the Communists both the Negro and labor were pawns in the Russian game of power politics. Today they speak as radicals; yesterday, they spoke as one - hundred - percent superpatriots; and before that, as apostles of the proletarian revolution. Tomorrow? Whatever Russia tells them to mouthe!

RED MENACE

Because many honest, decent people, especially youths, are sympathetic to Communism, they brush aside the self-determination slogan as a mere excentricity, say something on a par with some educated man's belief in witches or a rabbit foot as a good-luck charm. But for the Negro this is the most dangerous aspect of the Communist drive to corral Negroes and to infiltrate their organizations. If Communists gained influence among Negroes they would not hesitate for a moment to foment racial strife and dissension, and all in the interests of the Soviet Union.

When Roosevelt recognized the Soviet Union and Communism became "twentieth - century Americanism," the CP "soft-peddled" the fight for Negro rights. When Russia signed a pact with Nazi Germany, the Party suddenly recalled that Negroes were being jim crowed. But when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union and Russia began to receive lend-lease aid, the Communists turned coat with a vicious attack upon all fighters for Negro rights. Now they are back at their old stand peddling self-determination shoddy (more segregation) and pretending to champion the fight for Negro rights. But the fight for Negro rights demands a consistent program under bold and inspiring leadership, and this the Communists cannot give, tied as they are to Russia and an opportunistic cynicism.

Today the Party is concentrating

on its so-called Negro work as one of its most important activities. In practice this means attempting to operate within already established Negro organizations, with major emphasis on the branches of the NAACP. At the present time the entire apparatus of the Party is directed toward infiltrating and capturing Negro groups. "Our task," says Ben Davis, "is to win the Negro people irrespective of political or religious views. This requires an understanding of an application of the united front tactic in which a serious beginning was made by the Communist and left forces at the NAACP mobilization."[8]

Further attention was paid to the NAACP in an article entitled "On the 40th Anniversary of the NAACP," by Edward W. Strong. Mr. Strong observed:

> The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is the largest civil rights organization among Negroes in the United States . . . because of its size, composition and influence which this organization commands in Negro life, it is essential that progressives become more familiar with the NAACP. . . . Progressives must recognize the important role of the organization as a key force.[9]

It was in response to the destructive activities of the Communists in NAACP branches, and their attacks upon the national organization, that the 41st annual NAACP convention in Boston, Mass., adopted an anti-Communist resolution by an overwhelming vote. After noting the efforts of the Communists to "capture or split and wreck the NAACP," the resolution directed the NAACP board

> To take the necessary action to eradicate such infiltration, and if necessary to suspend and reorganize, or lift the charter and expel any unit, which, in the judgement of the board of directors, upon a basis of the findings of the aforementioned investigation and study of local units comes under Communist or other political control and domination.

However the Communist line on the Negro is arrived at, the fact remains that it is dictated from Moscow in the interest of the Soviet Union and that the American Communist Party is today one of the Negro's implacable enemies in his fight for equality. In the United States, the Communists stand for more efficient segregation.

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The following directory of some of the many lawyers known to us is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

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